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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to assess the indications in print of news borrowing (reporting news distributed by second hand or government controlled sources) in the 1970s, and to examine the relationship between borrowed news and the restrictions and reductions in newspapers' overseas news staff. The "New York Times" and the "Chicago Tribune" were selected for study because of their extensive foreign news coverage and because of the widely documented reductions in the number of their foreign correspondents. Fourteen randomly sampled issues per year were selected for analysis, yielding a total sample of 154 issues from 1969 to 1980. All foreign items were coded for geopolitical focus, originating agent (correspondent or wire service), and media source. The "Tribune" showed a pattern of growth in the publication of borrowed news, despite overall reductions in international item publication and overseas staff cuts. Publication of Wire service borrowed news grew significantly for the "Times" during the study period. The study failed to identify a relationship between staffing level and overall incidence of borrowed news published. But a pattern of news borrowing of Third World items in the wire service stories suggests that wire service journalists are responding to a gradual reduction in the available news sources and may be choosing, or are forced, to rely on official or partisan news organizations in Third World nations, where government control of press activity is allegedly increasing. (HTH)

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International Communication

The Origins of Borrowed News

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The Origins of Borrowed News

Introduction

Media Asia recently devoted most of an entire issue to a forum for scholars to discuss the need for national news agencies in developing countries (1). By serving as resources for the international agencies and as internal news gatherers and disseminators, the agencies would help alleviate biased or overly negative coverage of affairs within the developing nations, and promote developmental goals and progress within and among those nations.

Implicitly, these national news agencies would be acceptable sources for Western news organizations and, particularly, their correspondents. Yet some events in recent history suggest that Western reporters might be wary of foreign news organizations.

Soon after the 1979 revolution in Iran, for example, wire service correspondents in Tehran reported that Iran's state news organizations had claimed an Iraqi invasion of Iran. The story flashed worldwide before the state media quietly withdrew the story later that evening.

Then, after Western correspondents were expelled in early 1980 for what Iranian officials called "false and inaccurate" reporting, NBC News' Richard Salant (2), the AP's Lou Boccardi (3), and UPI's Roderick Beaton expressed belated concern about how the West would obtain "accurate" information. According to Beaton, Western news organizations would be "forced to rely on second-hand reports from Iran, and

this could result in confusing and conflicting dispatches" (4). UPI's H.L. Stevenson specified further that UPI would rely even more heavily on Radio Tehran broadcasts as a source of news (5).

Less than a week later, 60 Americans were among 200 Western correspondents ordered to leave Afghanistan. Western newsmen set up "listening posts" in New Delhi and at other sites to monitor the government-controlled radio for details of an uprising against the Soviet-backed regime. Not surprisingly, on-scene observers' later accounts differed from the reports broadcast by the government.

These two episodes demonstrate what Westerners might view as dysfunctional aspects of "second-hand news," or "news-borrowing."

Borrowed news items are reports published in American media, in which news accounts are "borrowed" or taken from other reports disseminated previously by foreign news media or agencies (6). The practice is not limited to foreign newsgathering; American news media and public affairs programs-- Meet the Press, the New York Times, Washington Post, Time, Newsweek, etc.--often cite each other as sources of news (7). And of course, other nations' correspondents utilize these media, as well as the major American agencies, when reporting from the U.S., often because the reporters are restricted to the Washington, D.C., area (8).

There is, however, a qualitative difference between domestic news-borrowing and the phenomenon as it occurs in some foreign nations. In many foreign countries, governments utilize (at least more openly!) state media and news agencies as outlets for dispensing only controlled information or propaganda.

Nor is the practice of news-borrowing entirely new: Ivacic, general director of Tanjug, described it as one of his correspondents' most relied-upon means of newsgathering (9); Cherry noted the frequent reporting of "overheard" radio transmissions in Europe (10); in the early 60s, Cohen remarked upon wide-spread use of host-nation newspapers as correspondents' "first and most important source" (11); the I.P.I. in 1952 estimated that three-fourths of all news filed from Moscow by Westerners came from official newspapers and periodicals (12); use of agency Tass output is, of course, a "given" in reporting the U.S.S.R.; Hohenberg in 1964 wrote of frustrated U.S. correspondents, unable to enter China, who were forced to rely on reports monitored in Hong Kong (13); and Isaacs had earlier reported that American media reports on China were based "almost entirely" on cullings from Chinese media (14). More recently, Rosenblum described the use by U.S. correspondents in Latin America of both government-controlled and "independent" local newspapers and radio stations as sources (15). In each case, accounts are processed by gatekeepers before they reach U.S. correspondents. Many professionals, citing, for example, conditions in Moscow, label the practice necessary and "inevitable" (16); one assumes readers have also become somewhat accustomed to reading borrowed reports (e.g., "the official news agency Xinhua said today...") and hopes those readers evaluate carefully the original sources.

Several situational and structural conditions might be crucial to the necessity for news-borrowing. Most obvious, from this brief discussion, are restrictions upon the mobility of reporters and the accessibility of alternative sources. While state agencies and media

might be consulted routinely as the official outlets for government information, if access to other, independent sources is limited, Western reporters may be forced to rely upon government organs as their only sources.

Second, the American contingent of newspaper correspondents overseas has dwindled during the past decade (17). If this reduction has served to constrict the newsgathering network, the remaining correspondents-- forced to cover even greater areas (18)--might opt, as some have suggested (19), to rely upon others' accounts to extend their own reporting range.

This study was designed to assess the in-print indications of news-borrowing during the 70s, and, where possible, to seek a relationship between the second-hand news phenomenon and these two conditions.

Of course there are myriad other possible variables that this study does not attempt to explore. Reporters may recognize the legitimacy of overseas news organizations or the special competence those sources offer (20). American media may realize that not all worth reporting is reported first-hand by the "Big Four" wire agencies (21). However, in a pilot survey of international communication scholars and former or current correspondents, 17 of 27 responding mentioned manpower cuts as a likely key factor in news-borrowing, while 21 cited limited access or official status of foreign news organizations (22).

The period 1969-1979 inclusive was selected for study. While Second World (World Bank designations are employed here. See Note 23) press systems have traditionally been viewed as closed and First World

systems as open (with some exceptions to both generalizations), this 11-year period encompassed a decade of growing Third World complaints that the Western press presented unfavorable images of those nations and actually impeded progress in national development (24). Increasingly, spokesmen for those nations called for a New World Information Order, including national autonomy in levying sanctions to prevent excesses by Western news agencies (25). These sanctions might have included stricter control of internal media outlets and reporters' movements within borders, as well as those reporters' access to individual sources.

Concomitantly, the decade witnessed a growth in the numbers of national news agencies, particularly in the developing countries (26), as part of the "restructuring" of the existing information order.

Further, the 11-year period also witnessed the decline of the American newspaper foreign correspondence corps overseas.

Specific research objectives, therefore, included: identification of any "trends" in published borrowed news; exploration of the relationship of overseas staff cuts to publication of borrowed news; and assessment of any relationship between published news-borrowing and "geopolitical focus" (First, Second, or Third World).

Method

The New York Times and the Chicago Tribune were selected for use in the study for two reasons. First, both are leaders in foreign news coverage, provide more extensive world coverage than most other American dailies (27), and likely represent the widest possible variety of foreign news items in American dailies.

Second, the Tribune's widely documented reductions (28) in its overseas staff during the 70s provided a direct basis for exploring, through comparison with the Times' stable staff of 33 correspondents, any relationship between a paper's level of overseas staffing and its use of correspondent-originated, second-hand news copy. A longitudinal sampling plan used the passage of time to "locate" reductions in Tribune foreign staffing, from 13 in 1969 to 11 in 1975 to only 6 by 1980 (29).

Two constructed weeks (30) of 14 randomly sampled issues per year were selected, yielding a total sample of 154 issues from the 11-year period. All foreign items for each paper on these dates were coded for several variables: geopolitical focus (First, Second or Third World?), to locate what, at least in conventional schemes, are three general categories of press systems; originating agent (newspaper's own correspondent or wire service?); and media attribution (was a news medium or organization cited as a source of information?). Two-coder reliability coefficients for these variables were 97.4, 99.0, and 97.1 (31).

Despite limitations in the comparison of only two newspapers and the sampling method employed, the number of items obtained by sampling 154 issue dates or "clusters" (n=6,070 items for the Times and 2,756 for the Tribune) does make possible some carefully considered and tentative inferences about news-borrowing in foreign news, above and beyond the longitudinal and comparative objectives.

The initial, planned method of analysis was to use a test for significant differences in successive years' proportions of news items

meeting the definition of borrowed news. Although these significant differences (at .05 level, by the z-test) are indicated in tabular material, the major tool for analysis was a non-parametric test for trend adapted from econometrics (32). The decision to utilize a tau value, or trend score, was based on early perusal of the data, which revealed that non-significant, incremental, year-to-year changes in news-borrowing might cumulatively constitute a trend.

In the trend test, each year is assigned a rank (1969=1, 1970=2, etc.). A second rank is assigned on the basis of the year's score on a pertinent variable. In this case, this second rank might be based on the relative percentage (of a year's total items) that were borrowed (a rank of 1 is assigned the year with the largest proportion of borrowed items, etc.). A computed value of tau reflects the disarray between the two ranks.

Just as non-significant between-years z-scores disguise overall trends, the caveat must be offered that, of course, the ranking procedure tends to overemphasize minimal between-years differences and to minimize large between-years fluctuations.

Findings

Data pertinent to the first research objective (to identify any trends in published borrowed news for the two papers during the 11-year period) are provided in Table 1. Recall that relative percentages (borrowed items/total items) are used in computing tau, thus providing a "control" for overall newshole reduction.

Although roughly one in five foreign items in both papers contained second-hand information, the annual percentages were less than anticipated (33). When these percentages of borrowed news are assigned ranks (1=most borrowed news) and compared to year ranks (1969=1, 1970=2, etc.) in a non-parametric test for trend (34), each score is negative, the sign suggesting growth of news-borrowing (although, as stated, seldom topping 20 percent). However, tau is -.56 for the Tribune (significant at p=.008) but a non-significant -.37 for the Times.

Thus, for the Tribune the overall trend score indicates a pattern of growth in publication of borrowed news, despite overall reductions in international item publication, and hints at the impact of the Chicago paper's overseas staff cuts.

(Alternatively, of course, the data might be discussed in percentage of change over the 11-year period; i.e., for the Times, there was a 20 percent drop in the raw frequency of borrowed news items, but a 26 percent drop in total items published. Similarly, Tribune data show a 26 percent drop in number of borrowed news items, but within a 49.9 percent drop in the number of foreign items in the newshole.)

Data for the second research objective (to explore directly the relationship of staff cuts overseas to the publication of borrowed news) follow in Table 2, detailing the percentage of each originating agent's items that are borrowed items.

When Tribune percentages of correspondent-originated borrowed news are tested for trend, the value of tau becomes a non-significant -.11, a major departure from the original news-borrowing trend score of

-.56. For the Times, the value of tau is -.16, again non-significant but again a radical change from the overall news-borrowing trend score of -.37.

While correspondent news-borrowing thus contributed very little to the overall borrowing trend scores, publication of wire-service borrowed news, at least in the Times, grew significantly during the study period. Tau for wire borrowed news was -.45 (significant at p=.03), despite the overall non-significant tau value. The wire trend score for the Tribune is a non-significant -.35.

The present research thus failed to identify a relationship between staffing level and overall incidence of borrowed news published. In fact, for the Chicago paper there was no clear evidence that the Tribune's publication of borrowed news was related to its choice of either originating agent.

The third research objective sought a relationship between geopolitical focus and the publication of borrowed news.

As a preface to examination of the percentages of items from each region containing second-hand news, Table 3 provides percentages of all foreign news items published from each geopolitical region.

While both papers gave relatively short shrift to news from the socialist nations--a confirmation, perhaps, of the conventional wisdom about those nations' firm grip on internal channels and sources of information and the limited mobility of Western correspondents-- only the Times provided consistently what may be termed at least a "quantitative" balance between the First and Third Worlds (35). Not until 1979 did the Tribune approach balance in treatment of these two re-

gions. The value of tau for Times coverage of Third World nations indicated increasing coverage (tau = -.48, significant at .02 level). The Tribune, on the other hand, showed no trend toward more coverage of the emerging and developing nations of the Third World during the 11-year period, despite the reputedly greater economic, cultural and political importance of that region.

The data in Table 4 provide the percentage of foreign items, from each geopolitical region, which fit the definition of second-hand news. Despite the small "n" of some Tribune cells--notably those for Second World items--several interesting findings emerge.

Neither paper exhibited a trend toward increased publication of second-hand news from the Second World, despite that region's traditional position as the most closed or restrictive of environments for press activity (36).

Somewhat surprisingly, the New York paper exhibited a trend toward increased publication of second-hand news originated in Western or First World nations (tau=
-.71, p=.001), a phenomenon perhaps best explained not by restrictions on American correspondents but by increasing cooperative agreements among Western media (37), as well, perhaps, as by that paper's use of wire copy (as the Table 2 discussion might suggest) when its correspondents were elsewhere. What is most interesting about this trend toward increased publication by the Times of second-hand, First World news is that the paper had not, in Table 3, displayed any increased overall commitment to coverage of First World nations.

Finally, even though in Table 3 only the Times had shown an increased commitment to covering the Third World during the 11-year period, both papers exhibited distinct and significant patterns of greater publication of second-hand news (Table 4) from the emerging and developing nations of the Third World (tau for the Times = -.45, p = .02; for the Tribune, tau = -.73, p = .001).

As a final step in the analysis, the relationship of originating agent and geopolitical region was examined using a non-trend tau coefficient. Times wire news-borrowing correlates .53 (p=.01) and .56 (p=.008) with First and Third world borrowed news. Times correspondent news-borrowing correlates significantly only with Third World news-borrowing (.42, p=.037). For the Tribune, the only significant relationship between correspondent news-borrowing and region is with the Second World (-.46, p=.02), and is negative, suggesting in this case that Tribune correspondents had very little to do with any fluctuations in Second World borrowed news. And, in fact, for the Chicago paper the correlation between wire news-borrowing and First World news-borrowing is .45 (p=.03); is .40 (p=.04) for the Second World; and is .55 (p=.01) for Third World news-borrowing. The key role of Tribune wire services in its published news-borrowing becomes apparent, despite a non-significant overall (non-regionally specific) wire-borrowing value of tau.

Discussion

During the past decade, commentators have decried the fact that the American press corps overseas has dwindled. Because of tremendous costs entailed in maintaining a staff abroad, many American newspapers have curtailed their foreign operations (38). Most papers have also reduced the newshole allocated to international news (39).

There has emerged recently the sentiment that the coming years will see new growth of the American overseas press corps (40), at least partially in response to what is viewed by observers as a new salience of international affairs for American readers. However, the cost of maintaining a single correspondent overseas, already prohibitive for many papers, is soon expected to exceed $200,000 annually (41). Whether American news organizations will actually be willing to spend such amounts remains to be seen.

Despite what may have been perceived in the 70s as a waning appetite among the American readership for foreign news, newspapers did make efforts to furnish readers news of important international events. This study predicted that, given the narrowing of the American newsgathering network abroad, the remaining American newspaper correspondents would expand their own capabilities to cover news events by utilizing the output of foreign media or news agencies; i.e., by getting information second-hand. While the study found only limited in-print evidence that overall news-borrowing increased during the 70s, it failed to relate directly this phenomenon to reductions in the number of American foreign correspondents, at least on the basis of a comparison of one newspaper's diminished overseas operation with

another's stable staff size. Instead, it was ultimately the papers' use of wire-service borrowed news which was most often correlated with each paper's publication of borrowed news from the major geopolitical regions.

Given the growing number of national news organizations and the fact that many doubtless have arranged exchange agreements with the major international agencies, one might expect the wire services increasingly to carry items attributed, with typical wire service care, to these agencies.

But cutting across the distinction between originating agents of borrowed news was a more profound pattern of news-borrowing in Third World items, suggesting that the growth of news-borrowing may indicate a changing newsgathering climate faced by overseas reporters. Wire service journalists abroad, especially, may be responding to a gradual reduction in the available news sources and may be choosing, or forced, to rely on official or partisan host-nation news organizations, particularly in that region of the world where government control of press activity is allegedly increasing: in the Third World nations (42).

Many of these nations have raised their voices in recent years to condemn the Western-dominated flow of information as unsuitable for those nations' needs or images in the world. Western critics of Third World or socialist proposals for a New World Information Order have, in turn, argued that the new order's proviso that governments or international governing bodies enter into the regulation of information dissemination will result in a limiting of world access to information

(43). Critics are alarmed by the spectre of the new order which, they claim, entails not only the transnational exchange of communication technology and training, but also prevention of what Tunisian UNESCO delegate Mustapha Masmoudi called "abusive uses of the right of access to information" (44).

This latter aspect of the new order, some Westerners claim, could be interpreted as countenancing the limitation of Western journalists' access to news sources (45), despite proponents' protestations to the contrary. Western media would be confined to disseminating the output of government-approved or controlled agencies or media (46). News would be screened before release and only that information deemed "acceptable" would be permitted to enter the world-wide flow of information (47).

With the information order issue still unresolved after the recent Belgrade and Talloires conferences, the proposed restructuring and the presumed concomitant controlled status of many nations' internal news media and agencies remains in the debate and proposal stages.

Or are they?

Rosenblum has argued that, "The increasing tendency to control foreign news is already distorting our knowledge of events that are vital to us" (48). Riffe has argued that news-borrowing may be a symptom of this control (49).

The news-borrowing phenomenon discerned in this study hints that the potential for the regulation and control of information called for in the new order may already be reflected in coverage of certain nations. News-borrowing is clearly increasing in published coverage of Third World nations.

If Western newsgathering organizations are increasingly relying on host-nation and often government-controlled news organizations, is the Western press not in practice accomplishing partially the goals of the New World Information Order? Would not UNESCO's endorsement of the new order merely sanction what has already become routine in some nations? Are not in-place internal communication structures in many foreign nations such that it is necessary and "inevitable" for U.S. correspondents to turn to national news organizations?

While it is possible on the basis of this study to conclude tentatively that reporters chose, or were forced, to news-borrow more in the late 70s than in the early years of that decade, particularly in Third World nations, other conclusions may also be drawn from the data reported here.

For example, the study's effort to uncover evidence of <u>increased</u> news-borrowing should not obscure the fact that, overall, second-hand news is an infrequent phenomenon. That phenomenon occurred more frequently in recent years--yes; but it occurred in less than a fifth of all the foreign news items sampled in most years. When one considers how many nations of the world are not free-press states, this small percentage borders on the remarkable.

Nonetheless, one might speculate about the ultimate impact of news-borrowing.

The network of correspondents and wire services indirectly and potentially serving the American newspaper reader is awesome in size. The daily flow of information through that network is voluminous. The potential exists for an American readership well-informed on interna-

tional events which, some argue, are of expanding importance because of the growing interdependency of the world's economic and political regions.

Yet from the flow of international news are selected daily only a few morsels. Year by year, the number of items selected decreases. And while the American reader's diet of foreign news is shrinking, a growing amount of the fare is pre-processed before it even reaches the distant correspondent or wire service reporter. Can the reader independently judge and/or validate the assertions of foreign news organizations?

In such a context, wherein readers must rely upon the reporter's judgment of a source's reliability, the developing nations are proposing to establish even more official or national agencies and media. How reporters assess and utilize those "second-hand" sources may, in the future, have an important impact upon reader views of the world. As I've concluded elsewhere regarding borrowed news and, particularly, the case of miscalculated Western borrowing in the alleged Iraqi invasion of Iran, if borrowed news "turns out to be misinformation, as it did when someone in Iran cried 'Wolf,' how many more phony invasions will be fought in the media before people cease to pay attention?" (50).

Notes

1. See: Media Asia, 1981, 8, 62-92.

2. "That's no way to say goodbye," Time, Jan. 28, 1980, p. 84.

3. "U.S. press to find ways of covering Iran," Knoxville News-Sentinel (UPI), Jan. 16, 1980, p. 3.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. D. Riffe, "Second-hand news risky?" Grassroots Editor, Summer 1980, pp. 3-4, 17.

7. L. Burris & J. Williams, "Use of network news material by cross-owned newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 1979, 56, 567-571. For further discussion of major media as referent indices, see J. Dimmick, "The gatekeeper: An uncertainty theory," Journalism Monographs, 1974, 37. For more popular treatment, see G. Talese, The kingdom and the power (N.Y.: World, 1969).

8. T. Dunkel, "The invisible press corps," Washington Journalism Review, Nov. 1980, 2, 46-50.

9. P. Ivacic, "The flow of news: Tanjug, the pool, and the national agencies," Journal of Communication, 1978, 28, 157-162.

10. C. Cherry, World communication: Threat or promise? (Chichester: John Wiley, 1978).

11. B. Cohen, The press and foreign policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) p. 96.

12. International Press Institute, "The news from Russia," First General Assembly: The professional panels (Zurich: I.P.I., 1952).

13. J. Hohenberg, Foreign correspondents: The great reporters and their times (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1964) pp. 417-418.

14. H. Isaacs, Images of Asia (N.Y.: Capricorn, 1958) p. 213.

15. M. Rosenblum, "The Western wire services and the Third World," in P. Horton (ed.) The third world and press freedom (N.Y.: Praeger, 1978) p. 117.

16. Among them: Mort Rosenblum, formerly of the International Herald Tribune; Gerard Loughran of UPI; Morris Rosenberg of AP; Robert B. Semple Jr. of the New York Times; Nate Polowetzky of AP; Jim Bitterman of NBC in Paris; and Bonnie Angelo, Time's London bureau chief, all in personal correspondence, Fall 1981.

17. I Hill, "Study shows fewer U.S. correspondents," Editor & Publisher, Feb. 18, 1976, p. 46; R. Kliesch, "A vanishing species: The American newsman abroad," Overseas Press Club directory (N.Y.: Overseas Press Club, 1975); and C. Sterling & T. Haight, The mass media: Aspen Institute guide to communication industry trends (N.Y.: Praeger, 1978).

18. See D. Sreebny, "American correspondents in the Middle East: Perceptions and problems," Journalism Quarterly, 1979, 56, 386-388. Sreebny reports that of 24 newspaper correspondents in the Middle East responding to a survey, nine were each responsible for reporting the news from 15 or more countries. Such large areas of responsibility for correspondents are the rule, rather than the exception; see Hohenberg, op. cit., and Rosenblum in Horton, op. cit.

19. Among them: L. John Martin, John DeMott, and Guido Stempel III, all in personal correspondence, Fall 1981.

20. As J.C. Merrill and Hal Fisher have suggested in personal correspondence, Fall 1981. However, in Feb. 1982 conversation, Kaarle Nordenstreng suggested that, though such recognition would constitute an "ideal" state of affairs, he doubts it has occurred.

21. Fisher, ibid.

22. D. Riffe, "Borrowed news: Healthy development, lazy reporting, or 'the only game in town'?" (forthcoming manuscript).

23. B. Jones, "African development hopes dashed," New York Times, Jan. 25, 1976, section 3, p. 17.

24. For discussion, see R. Righter, "Is Western-style journalism appropriate to the third world?" Nieman Reports, Summer 1978, pp. 30-32; and L. Sussmann, Mass news media and the third world, The Washington Papers 5:46 (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977).

25. See S. Meisler, "Covering the third world (or trying to)," Columbia Journalism Review, November-December 1978, pp. 34-38; or P. Power & E. Abel, "Third world vs. the media," The New York Times Magazine, Sept. 21, 1980, pp. 116-123, 128, 133.

26. Precise figures are difficult to obtain. UNESCO data tend to be cited, and re-cited, long after their accuracy can be considered current. In 1975, the agency identified 90 national news agencies, "an increase since ten years ago." See World communications (Paris: Unesco Press, 1975) p. 9. In 1980, Oliver Boyd-Barrett noted a 76 percent increase in national news agencies since 1950 (p. 193), and that, since 1964, most of the new national agencies had been in the Third World (p. 194). See his The international news agencies (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980). Finally, in 1981, Michael H. Anderson cited new UNESCO figures and claimed that by the end of the 70s, 120-plus nations had their own agencies--"an increase of about 80 agencies in a decade." See Anderson's "Emerging patterns of global news cooperation," in J. Richstad & Anderson (eds.) Crisis in international news: Policies and prospects (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1981) p. 333.

27. V. Sparkes, "The flow of news between Canada and the United States," Journalism Quarterly, 1978, 55, 260-268.

28. As noted in trade journals and popular publications such as: D. Cook, "Trench coats for sale: The eclipse of the foreign correspondent," Saturday Review, June 24, 1976, pp. 13-16; and E. Neilan, "Over there and what we read about it over here," Quill, May 1975, pp. 12-16.

29. Staffing figures obtained in personal correspondence with Dennis Gosselin (Tribune) and Robert B. Semple Jr. (Times), March 1980.

30. R. Jones & R. Carter, "Some procedures for estimating 'newshole' in content analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1959, 23, 399-403.

31. W. Schutz, "Reliability, ambiguity and content analysis," Psychological Review, 1952, 59, 119-129.

32. G. Tintner, Econometrics (N.Y.: Wiley & Sons, 1952) pp. 211-215.

33. An anticipation based admittedly on the researcher's own sensitization to news-borrowing following the events cited in the "Introduction" section of this paper.

34. Tintner, op. cit.

35. The papers were, however, remarkably similar in the differential qualitative treatment afforded each region, in terms of item topic emphasis. See D. Riffe, "Consonance, conflict, and third-world news," paper presented at Annual Convention of Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, Chicago, Dec. 5, 1980.

36. As noted, in 1952 I.P.I. found that nearly three-fourths of all items filed from Moscow were based on official media output. This study found that, across both papers, 52 percent of all items from the U.S.S.R. were borrowed. As a note of comparison, the percentage for items from the People's Republic of China was 55.

37. As suggested, in personal correspondence, by Hal Fisher, supra, n. 20.

38. Cook, op. cit.; Hill, op. cit.; Neilan, op. cit. See also, C. Eisendrath, "Foreign correspondence: A declining art," Columbia Journalism Review, November-December 1976, pp. 14-18; and F. Kaplan, "The plight of foreign news in the U.S. mass media: An assessment," Gazette, 1979, 25, 233-243.

39. Kaplan, op. cit.

40. M. Perry, "Foreign correspondents are staging a comeback," presstime, April 1980, pp. 18-19.

41. Ibid.

42. M. Rosenblum, "Information, please," Columbia Journalism Review, January-February 1981, pp. 59-63.

43. "Belgrade, 1980: Breakdown or breakthrough?" Chronicle of International Communication, Dec. 1980, 1, 1-2; "No nanny for the news," Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 17, 1980, p. 28; Power & Abel, op. cit.; and C. Prendergast, "The global first amendment war," Time, Oct. 6, 1980, pp. 62-63.

44. Quoted in Power & Abel, op. cit.

45. Rosenblum, 1981, op. cit.

46. Power & Abel, op. cit.

47. Rosenblum, 1981, op. cit.

48. Ibid.

49. Riffe, supra, n. 6.

50. Ibid.

TABLE 1

FOREIGN NEWS ITEMS CONTAINING BORROWED NEWS[a] IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CHICAGO TRIBUNE BY YEAR

Year	New York Times[b]		Chicago Tribune[c]	
	%	n	%	n
1969	18.0	685	13.9	409
1970	13.3[d]	675	14.0	358
1971	19.4[d]	563	12.2	286
1972	15.7	530	13.8	246
1973	13.6	529	12.4	202
1974	18.7[d]	540	14.4	216
1975	20.1	546	18.4	196
1976	20.0	591	19.1	230
1977	18.0	433	22.7	203
1978	19.2	474	14.1[d]	205
1979	19.5	504	20.5	205
	tau= -.37	p= .06	tau= -.56	p= .008
Totals	17.7	6070	15.6	2756

[a] As per text, "borrowed news" refers to attribution to both foreign news media and news agencies.

[b] Chi-square for Times distribution is 24.33 with 10 d.f.; significant at .007.

[c] Chi-square for Tribune distribution is 21.569 with 10 d.f.; significant at .018.

[d] Significantly different from preceding year's percentage (proportion), by the Z-test, at .05 level.

TABLE 2

FOREIGN NEWS ITEMS CONTAINING BORROWED NEWS IN IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CHICAGO TRIBUNE BY ORIGINATING AGENT AND BY YEAR

	New York Times				Chicago Tribune			
	Correspondent		Wire		Correspondent		Wire	
Year	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1969	22.2	351	13.8	319	16.7	48	14.2	324
1970	15.5[a]	348	10.9	311	12.7	79	14.6	242
1971	25.2[a]	317	12.0	234	16.7	78	11.6	189
1972	17.1[a]	280	13.9	238	19.7	61	13.6	162
1973	15.6	250	11.4	271	17.0	53	11.1	135
1974	26.1[a]	276	11.6	233	14.6	48	13.4	134
1975	22.4	246	19.5	262	14.3	35	22.4	134
1976	23.3	287	17.0	264	11.1	27	20.4	191
1977	19.5	200	18.7	198	15.4	26	23.3	159
1978	23.7	237	16.7	198	17.1	41	13.8	152
1979	22.1	253	17.1	217	17.6	34	22.8	158
tau=	-.16		-.45		-.11		-.35	
p=	.24		.03		.32		.07	
Totals	21.2	3044	14.6	2745	15.9	529	16.2	1984

[a] Significantly different from preceding year's percentage (proportion), by the Z-test, at .05 level.

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF THE TWO PAPERS' FOREIGN ITEMS,
BY GEOPOLITICAL FOCUS AND BY YEAR

	New York Times				Chicago Tribune			
	1st world	2nd world	3rd world	n	1st world	2nd world	3rd world	n
Year	%	%	%		%	%	%	
1969	45.4	18.8	35.8	685	50.4	12.8	36.9	409
1970	46.2	13.0	40.7	675	53.0	9.3	37.7	358
1971	41.4	15.8	42.8	563	58.9	11.6	29.5	286
1972	45.3	14.0	40.7	530	55.7	9.3	35.0	246
1973	46.3	11.3	42.3	529	57.5	8.0	34.5	202
1974	44.3	12.6	43.1	540	53.0	9.3	37.7	216
1975	47.3	9.3	43.4	546	53.6	6.6	39.8	196
1976	45.7	13.4	40.9	591	55.1	11.9	33.0	230
1977	48.3	11.8	40.0	433	57.5	12.0	30.5	203
1978	43.0	13.7	43.2	474	52.0	13.7	34.3	205
1979	44.2	11.9	43.8	504	40.0	14.6	45.4	205
tau=	-.02	.35	-.48		.13	-.30	-.04	
p=	.47	.07	.02		.29	.10	.44	

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF THE TWO PAPERS' PERCENTAGES OF FOREIGN ITEMS CONTAINING BORROWED NEWS, BY GEOPOLITICAL FOCUS AND BY YEAR

	New York Times						Chicago Tribune					
	1st world		2nd world		3rd world		1st world		2nd world		3rd world	
Year	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1969	5.8	311	55.8	129	13.5	245	6.3	205	57.4	54	8.7	150
1970	4.5	312	48.9	88	11.3	275	4.8	188	61.1	36	14.2	134
1971	7.3	233	50.0	89	19.9[a]	241	6.0	168	41.2	34	13.1	84
1972	6.2	240	44.6	74	16.2	216	7.3	137	30.4	23	19.8	86
1973	5.3	245	38.3	60	16.1	224	7.0	115	33.3	18	17.4	69
1974	10.0	239	47.1	68	19.3	233	6.1	114	35.0	21	19.8	81
1975	10.1	258	58.8	51	22.8	237	11.4	105	53.8	13	21.8	78
1976	11.5	270	49.4	79	19.8	242	10.4	125	43.3	30	24.0	75
1977	10.5	209	41.2	51	20.2	173	12.2	115	51.8	27	29.5	61
1978	10.8	204	40.0	65	21.0	205	4.7[a]	106	34.5	29	20.0	70
1979	11.2	223	59.3[a]	60	17.2	221	8.5	82	43.3	30	23.7	93
tau=	-.71		.09		-.45		-.31		.11		-.73	
p=	.001		.35		.02		.09		.32		.001	

[a] Significantly different from preceding year's percentage (proportion), by the Z-test, at .05 level.